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COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

U.S. House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-6035

ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

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March 16, 1999

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MISSILE DEFENSE (H.R. 4): DEFENDING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Dear Colleague:

American technological superiority has lulled many Americans into assuming that the U.S. military has the capability to defend the American public against a ballistic missile attack. We do not. In fact, one recent nationwide poll indicated that 73 percent of Americans are unaware that the U.S. lacks the capability to defend against even a single incoming ballistic missile. Unfortunately, most Americans are living with a false sense of security.

The threat of missile attack is real. Last summer, an independent study by a bipartisan commission, headed by former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, concluded that the ballistic missile threat to the United States "is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly" than anticipated, and that the U.S. may have "little or no warning" of a ballistic missile threat. With each passing day, our nation's vulnerability to missile attack grows. Rogue nations like North Korea, Libya, and Iraq are working aggressively to acquire the capability to strike the American homeland with ballistic missiles carrying weapons of mass destruction.

The most important step our nation can take to counter this threat is to move ahead with the deployment of a national missile defense. H.R. 4 is a straightforward, 15 word bill that reflects the bipartisan belief that all Americans should be protected against ballistic missiles. It is important legislation, and I urge your strong support.

On Thursday, March 18, the House is scheduled to consider H.R. 4. To help you better understand this important legislation, the package of attached materials includes talking points and several short papers to address some of the most common "mythology" associated with the missile defense debate. If I can be of additional assistance or if you have any questions, please contact me directly or the Armed Services Committee staff (5-4151).

Sincerely,



Floyd D. Spence
Chairman

H. R. 4 TALKING POINTS

National Missile Defense

H.R. 4: THE NEXT STEP IN MISSILE DEFENSE

On Thursday, March 18, 1999, the House will vote on H.R. 4, "A bill to declare it to be the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense." This bipartisan bill authored by Congressmen Curt Weldon and John Spratt and reported by the Armed Services Committee on a 50-3 vote deserves your strong support. Americans **must** be defended against the threat of ballistic missile attack.

THE THREAT

- **Today, the United States does not have the capability to shoot down a single ballistic missile.**
- According to the bipartisan and unanimous conclusions of the "Rumsfeld Commission," the ballistic missile threat to the United States "is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than reported in estimates and reports of the intelligence community." The United States may have **"little or no warning"** of a ballistic missile threat.
- Russia maintains thousands of nuclear warheads on ballistic missiles. Concerns over the evolving political situation in Russia and the marked deterioration of the Russian military raises the danger of accidental or unauthorized launch.
- According to the CIA, China currently has 13 long-range ballistic missiles targeted at the United States and Beijing is in the process of aggressively modernizing its nuclear forces in ways that will further threaten the U.S.
- On August 31, 1998, North Korea launched a 3-stage ballistic missile, demonstrating for the first time its ability to threaten the United States with long range missiles.
- Iran is actively seeking long-range missiles that could threaten the United States, and with Russia's assistance is acquiring missile technology faster than expected.
- Secretary of Defense Cohen stated that "the ballistic missile threat is real and is growing...."



MISSILE DEFENSE TECHNOLOGY

- The currently envisioned National Missile Defense program to defend the American public will rely on ground-based defenses for protection against a limited ballistic missile attack, not space-based interceptors or exotic “Star Wars” technology.
- Tremendous progress has been made in interceptor “hit-to-kill” technology. It is possible to “hit a bullet with a bullet,” in fact, a successful test of the Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC-3) occurred this week.



FUNDING AND COSTS

- At present, funding for National Missile Defense is ***less than 1 percent*** of the overall defense budget.
- The United States spends 99 percent of its defense modernization budget to upgrade existing weapons and platforms, and less than 1 percent to develop the capability to defend Americans against ballistic missiles – a capability that the U.S. ***DOES NOT HAVE*** today.
- The Congress has added funds for missile defense programs in each of the past 4 years.
- In response to the ballistic missile threat, the Administration has requested additional funds over the next 5 years to support the deployment of a National Missile Defense.
- The cost to deploy an initial National Missile Defense capability will amount to less than the amount the U.S. has spent on peacekeeping deployments over the past 6 years.

THE NEXT STEP

- ***The ballistic missile threat to the United States is here and NOW.*** It is not 10-15 years away.
 - The technology to defend America is not “pie-in-the-sky.” ***IT IS BEING DEVELOPED AND WILL BE DEPLOYED.***
 - For years, the Congress has committed the budget resources necessary to support the deployment of a National Missile Defense system. ***National Missile Defense IS affordable.***
 - What is ***missing*** is a political ***commitment to move forward and deploy*** a National Missile Defense system to defend all Americans.
- There is growing consensus on the seriousness of the ballistic missile threat. Congress and the Administration are working to develop technology to counter the threat and to increase spending on National Missile Defense programs, but there has been no commitment to deploy National Missile Defenses. H.R. 4 fills this void by making deployment of National Missile Defense a bipartisan matter of national policy.

**Vote to defend America against ballistic missiles.
Vote YES on H.R. 4.**

H. R. 4 MYTHS V. FACTS National Missile Defense

"We are affirming that there is a threat, and the threat is growing, and that we expect it will soon pose a danger not only to our troops overseas but also to Americans here at home"

—Secretary of Defense William Cohen, 1-20-99

*"We are affirming that **the threat is real today**, and that it is growing."*

—General Lester Lyles, Director, Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, 1-20-99

MYTH: The Threat

Because the threat of a ballistic missile attack on the U.S. is a decade or more away, deployment of a National Missile Defense system is unnecessary; No nation other than Russia or China will be able to threaten the United States with ballistic missiles for at least a decade.

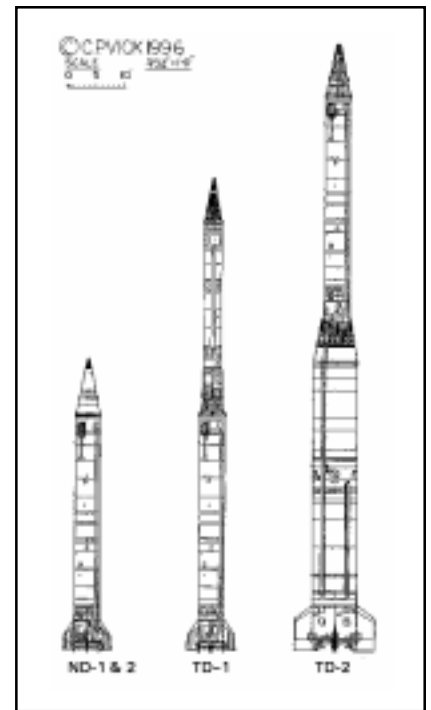
FACTS

- In recent years, ballistic missile and weapons of mass destruction technologies have proliferated at an alarming rate. Indeed, the threat presented by these technologies, particularly from rogue states such as North Korea and Iran, is growing more serious by the day.
- The 1998 bipartisan Rumsfeld Commission, concluded:
 - The threat posed to the United States, "is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than has been reported in estimates and reports by the intelligence community" and the United States might have, "little or no warning" before a ballistic missile threat materializes.
- Several events immediately followed the Commission's report, and helped to reinforce the importance and relevance of the commission's findings:
 - On July 24, 1998, Iran conducted its first flight-test of the *Shahab-3* medium-range ballistic missile, a test that the intelligence community had forecast would not occur for at least another year.



The Rumsfeld Commission

- Just one month later, in August 1998, North Korea attempted to place a satellite into orbit with a newly-developed version of its *Taepo Dong-1* ballistic missile. Of particular concern, was the presence of a third missile stage, which intelligence experts estimate will allow the missile to directly threaten parts of the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii.
- North Korea is also continuing to develop the *Taepo Dong-2*, a ballistic missile with an estimated range of up to 10,000 kilometers – sufficient to directly threaten much of the continental United States.
- More than 20 countries have or are seeking to acquire ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction.
- Russia and China remain significant threats to the United States:
 - A December 1998 CIA report to Congress noted that Russia and China continue to be the primary global suppliers of key nuclear, chemical, biological, and ballistic missile technologies.
 - Continued proliferation and technology transfer, especially by Russia and China, will inevitably increase the long-range ballistic missile threat to the United States and do so sooner than anticipated.
 - Political turmoil in Russia, including deterioration of the Russian military, and transition in both Russia and China increases the risk of an accidental or unauthorized ballistic missile launch.
 - China continues to aggressively modernize its nuclear forces in ways that will pose a greater threat to the United States.
 - In 1996, Chinese General Xiong Guang-Kai threatened the nuclear destruction of Los Angeles if the U.S. should intervene in any military confrontation between China and Taiwan.



Artist's rendering of North Korean ballistic missiles

The U.S. will eventually deploy national missile defenses. The only question is, will we field this defensive capability before or after America is the target of a ballistic missile attack?

H.R. 4 MYTHS V. FACTS

National Missile Defense

MYTH: The Technology

National Missile Defenses (NMD) are the 1990s version of President Reagan's technologically infeasible "Star Wars" program.

FACTS

- H.R. 4 does not mandate what technologies would be deployed as part of a national missile defense system or prescribe any specific system architecture.
- Current NMD planning envisions a cost effective national missile defense system to protect Americans against a limited, accidental, or unauthorized ballistic missile attack.
- The original Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program objective was to develop an effective defense against a massive Soviet missile attack involving thousands of warheads.
 - The current NMD program is designed to meet likely ballistic missile threats in the post-Cold War era, in light of continuing missile proliferation, the hostility of rogue nations, and instability in Russia.
- The SDI research effort investigated a range of cutting edge, advanced, exotic technologies to defend against such a massive attack.
 - The current NMD program will rely on mature ground based defensive technologies. Current NMD plans do not envision deployment of exotic technologies in space.



Launch of ballistic missile for missile defense testing

H.R. 4 MYTHS V. FACTS

National Missile Defense

MYTH: The ABM Treaty

Deployment of a National Missile Defense System would violate the ABM Treaty and undermine Russia's strategic nuclear deterrent.

FACTS:

While H.R. 4 is unequivocal in establishing as U.S. policy the deployment of national missile defenses, it does not address-either directly or indirectly-the disposition of the ABM Treaty. No one should misinterpret H.R. 4's simplicity or brevity.

- The 1972 ABM Treaty prohibits defense of the national territory of the Soviet Union and the United States. However, many experts interpret this to mean that a defense against a limited attack is permitted by the Treaty.
- The ABM Treaty allows for amendments, and amendments have been agreed to in the past. The Treaty specifically calls on parties periodically "to consider changes in the strategic situation which have a bearing on the provisions of this Treaty...[and] consider, as appropriate...proposals for amendments."
- The Administration recognizes that the ABM Treaty may have to be revised or scrapped in order to ensure that Americans are defended against ballistic missile attack. Secretary Cohen recently stated in response to a press query on amending the treaty that the U.S. has the option of simply withdrawing from the Treaty if it is in our national interest to do so.
- Two recent legal analyses conclude that the ABM Treaty is no longer legally binding, as one of the two original parties to the Treaty (the Soviet Union) has since ceased to exist. Thus, continuing to abide by the Treaty is a matter of Administration policy, not of international law.



Russia still possesses a strategic nuclear arsenal of over 7,000 warheads

A limited national missile defense would not undermine Russia's nuclear deterrent.

- Russia still possesses a strategic nuclear arsenal of over 7,000 warheads.
- If Russia ratifies START II, Russia will still sustain a strategic force of 3,000-3,500 warheads.
- Such forces would overwhelm any U.S. national missile defense under consideration.
- Russia already maintains the world's only operational ballistic missile defense system.

H.R. 4 MYTHS V. FACTS

National Missile Defense

MYTH: The Cost

Development and deployment of a National Missile Defense (NMD) system is too costly.

FACTS

- H.R. 4 does not authorize or appropriate **any** funding, and the Congressional Budget Office has reported that the bill "would have no budgetary impact."

- Current NMD plans account for .5 percent of anticipated defense spending from fiscal year 2000 through fiscal year 2005, and less than 2 percent of the Department of Defense's entire modernization budget during these years.

- The alternative to a commitment to deploy NMD is to continue open-ended technology research. Without a commitment to deploy, NMD programs will lack policy direction and will result in billions of dollars of unfocused research efforts.

- Comparing the projected cost of deploying a national missile defense system to the projected costs of other major defense programs (see below) demonstrates that missile defenses are cost-effective and affordable.

- A national missile defense system represents a cost-effective "insurance policy" against what the intelligence community considers the "weapon of choice" in the post-Cold War world – the ballistic missile.



The cost of tactical aircraft modernization (\$340 billion) dwarfs the cost of NMD deployment (\$10.5 billion).

Comparative Defense Investments

NMD Deployment (current Administration projection, FY1999-FY2005).....	\$10.5 Billion
Estimated Cost of Peacekeeping Operations (FY1993-FY1999).....	\$19.1 Billion
Defense-related Environmental Cleanup in FY00.....	\$10 Billion
since 1990.....	\$86 Billion
Modernization of Tactical Aircraft (Superhornet, Joint Strike Fighter, F-22) (CBO projection, FY1999-FY2026).....	\$340 Billion
Submarine Construction (FY00-05).....	\$11.2 Billion
Navy Destroyers (FY00-05).....	\$10.8 Billion
Navy/Marine Corps Amphibious Ships (FY00-05).....	\$7 Billion

Growing Missile Threat in the News



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Panel Sees 'Emerging' Arms Threat

MISSILES, From A1

(R-Ga.) hailed the panel's study as "the most important warning about our national security since the end of the Cold War" and said he will consult with the administration and congressional leaders from both parties about establishing a bipartisan "working group" to review intelligence and defense capabilities.

U.S. intelligence agencies have maintained that a long-range missile threat from potential Third World adversaries is unlikely to emerge before 2010, except possibly from North Korea, and

U.S. News 7/27/98

Should America worry about missiles again? Experts say rogue states soon could get them

BY BRUCE B. AUSTER

If Iran decided today to build a ballistic missile for an attack on New York, the weapon could be ready to launch in as little as five years—not the 12 years previously estimated.

That is the unanimous conclusion of an independent commission granted unprecedented access to the CIA's secrets about the foreign ballistic missile threat to American territory. Among its findings: that nations such as Iran, Iraq, and North Korea are aggressively seeking missile technology and, if they get it, could inflict "major destruction" on the United States; that Russia and China are supplying equipment and expertise to those countries; and that the U.S. intelligence community's ability to provide "timely and accurate" estimates of the threat is "eroding." The report, by a blue-ribbon panel of experts, includes former

Nations Taking Missile Programs Underground to Foil Surveillance

MISSILES, From A1

gion, Iran wanted "to underground" its missile program to avoid detection by U.S. intelligence. The report also noted that when U.S. officials often have been misled by foreign governments when they present evidence of sophisticated measures of missile technology. "In short," the panel said, "we find that the extent of that information that comes to us is shared off rather than the technology transfer being stopped."



WILLIAM KRISTOL

Kristol said that Iran, which has underground facilities for its missile program, "the test, export, and sale of missile technology, is not possible." "Significant" steps are being taken to

to another country and the United States intelligence community did not know it until after it happened." Although it did not identify the country, other sources have said it was talking about Iraq, which in 1995 purchased a Chinese anti-missile missile system and deployed it without telling Washington.

Subcommittee members and former members of U.S. strategic forces, said, "There is only so much information, so much of it is being shared off rather than the technology transfer being stopped."

Iran, N. Korea Missile Gains Spur Warning

By BRADLEY GRAHAM
Washington Post Staff Writer

Challenging official U.S. intelligence estimates, a congressionally mandated panel reported yesterday that Iran and North Korea could develop weapons capable of striking U.S. territory sooner than government analysts have predicted and with little or no warning.

Members of the bipartisan Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States

The New York Times

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Team B vs. C.I.A.

Rumsfeld report: ignore at peril.

Saddam would have no nuclear capability for the next 10 years; when we went in after he invaded Kuwait, however, we discovered Iraq to be less than we thought.

mission concluded, the warning that the U.S. will have to develop and deploy a missile defense is near zero. Let's set aside our preoccupation with executive privileges and hospital lawsuits long enough to consider the consequences of Team B's judgment. The United States no longer has the luxury of several poles to put up a missile defense, as we complacently believed. If we do not decide now to develop a missile shield, we run the risk of being

The New York Times

Panel Says U.S. Faces Risk Of a Surprise Missile Attack

By ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON, July 15 — Rogue nations could develop and deploy ballistic missiles for an attack against the United States with "little or no warning," an independent commission announced today.

Rail senior American intelligence officials today stood by their long-standing estimate that no country besides Russia and China, which already have ballistic missiles, could field long-range rockets before 2010.

into missiles.

The commission singled out North Korea, Iran and Iraq for scrutiny. "We judge that Iran now has the technical capability and resources to demonstrate an I.C.B.M.-range ballistic missile" similar to a North Korean model, its report said.

But in a letter sent to Congress today, George J. Tenet, the Director of Central Intelligence, said the Commission's stand by a threat assessment that was made in 1992 and re-

Every rogue his missile

The Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States delivered its findings to Congress last week, and it would take more than nerves of steel not to find the Commission's report spine-chilling. According to the review members

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Zero Warning

New missile powers also have access to technology—for example, the means to quickly test underground tunnels—that can disguise the speed of their weapons development. Estimates this is even more basic: it was the U.S. that set India in on the arms race to detect nuclear tests, as India disclosed its plans in

ways that fooled those means. And now a missile is built, it's a question of when it will be used.

tration, we thought a President's first duty was to the common defense. At least Congress is a co-equal branch of government. And armed with the substance of this report, it has a stronger political case for the more urgent development of missile defenses. One immediate action would be to focus more resources behind the Navy's so-called "third-tier" defense program based around single interceptors. Another would be to accelerate the Navy's acquisition of

The Washington Post

Buried Missile Labs Foil U.S. Satellites

N. Korea, Iran Among 'Intelligence Gaps'

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

North Korea, Iran and other countries are receiving their best missile technology from U.S. spy satellites by using enormous underground laboratories and facilities to build and test the weapons, according to members of a bipartisan commission that has been determining the threat posed to the United States by ballistic

missiles. The elaborate underground construction is one factor contributing to what the commission called "intelligence gaps."

The commission's report said that the U.S. intelligence community's ability to provide "timely and accurate" estimates of the threat is "eroding." The report, by a blue-ribbon panel of experts, includes former

prohibition. The panel's conclusions were reported July 15 (criticized U.S. "intelligence gaps," concluding that "the technical means of collection that are employed will not meet emerging requirements."

The panel chairman, former defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, recently told the House National Security Committee that North Korea, Iran, Russia and China "have made extensive use of the underground construction, we make them to do things to develop and storage."

The New York Times

New and Future Missile Threats

Since the end of the cold war, Americans have not had to worry much about a missile attack on the United States. This week, a bipartisan commission concluded that North Korea, Iran and Iraq could obtain long-range missiles significantly sooner, and with far less warning, than current intelligence estimates project. The commission's view deserves serious consideration. But it should not set off a scramble to mount a new, nationwide missile defense program.

at much the same evidence, suggested that the commission's estimates are based on unrealistic, worst-case assumptions and that with the possible exception of North Korea, no new countries could mount a long-range missile threat before 2010.

Even if the threat turns out to be more imminent, the technology for long-range missile defenses is still experimental. Considerably more testing and evaluation will be needed before a reliable defense could be built.